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ABSTRACT

This document presents a report of a 1992 workshop on teacher development and educational reform. The meeting focused on how various state teacher policies could be integrated into a coherent and comprehensive statewide teacher-development system. Following the executive summary, this report contains two main sections. The first sets the context for the meeting by defining teacher-development systems and underscoring their centrality to reform. The second section discusses 10 interrelated guiding principles that can serve as starting points for the design and implementation of teacher-development systems. The principles pertain to strategic planning, clarified government roles, participatory design, multicultural/demographic awareness, development of teachers as reform partners, school restructuring, higher education linkages, education of policymakers and the public, incentives for change, and funding. In conclusion, state policymakers need to: (1) consider teacher development as a means to meaningful school renewal; (2) view teacher policy as a way to clarify and implement national reform goals at the local level; and (3) support teacher-development policy that enables improvement. Appendices contain a list of meeting participants and a reader response form. (LMI)

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State Policies To Improve The Teacher Workforce

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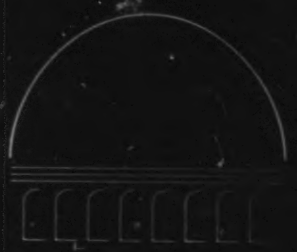

State Policies To Improve The Teacher Workforce

Shaping the Profession

That Shapes America's Future

A Working Conference Co-sponsored by Recruiting New Teachers, Inc.
and The National Conference of State Legislatures

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Cover photos of four working teachers courtesy of Robin Sachs. They originally appeared in the book *I am a Teacher*, by David Marquis and Robin Sachs, published by Simon & Schuster in 1990.

Preface to the Report

The central issue for the United States as it approaches the 21st century is the development of its human capacity. Ironically, even though schools are the front line for meeting this challenge, the nation has historically paid scant attention to the development of education's own human resources—its teachers and administrators.

Today, however, the twin imperatives of education reform and tight budgets make it essential that state policymakers adopt coherent, comprehensive, and innovative strategies to develop the teacher workforce. In the absence of coordinated policymaking, local practice and state regulations too often collide, and opportunities for greater efficiency, quality, and productivity are wasted—with consequent costs to taxpayers, to the nation's schools, and to the students they serve. Without improved teacher development policies, this nation will fail to build the qualified and diverse teacher workforce that today's and tomorrow's classrooms demand. The challenge, then, is to develop an overall, unifying vision for educational reform, one that has teacher development at its core.

With this challenge in mind, Recruiting New Teachers (RNT) and the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) recently invited approximately 25 legislators and specialists in state policies relating to teacher development to gather in North Carolina for an intensive day of presentations and discussions that focused on how various state teacher policies could be integrated into a coherent and comprehensive statewide teacher development system.

The intent of this report on the November, 1992 symposium is two-fold: first, to provide state leaders and policymakers with an initial overview of the major challenges and opportunities entailed in the creation and implementation of coherent state teacher development policy; second, and more importantly, to model the kind of conversations that must take place within each state about teacher development and educational reform.

The most salient lessons from this dialogue between state educational leaders and policy experts are summarized over the following pages. It is our hope that the observations and conclusions of these two dozen legislators and policy experts will encourage state leaders across the nation to start, continue, or refine their own conversations about teacher development and educational reform.

Beyond the Executive Summary, this report consists of two main sections:

- The first sets the context for the meeting by defining teacher development systems and underscoring their centrality to reform.
- The second discusses ten interrelated "guiding principles" that state leaders may find valuable as starting points for the design and implementation of teacher development systems. Appendices include a list of meeting participants and a brief bibliography for further reading on these issues.

We wish to thank the legislators and policy experts who contributed to this discussion and, in particular, our colleagues at the National Conference of State Legislatures. Special thanks go to Bill McKersie, a doctoral candidate at the University of Chicago, who served as meeting rapporteur and insightful critic of this report's successive drafts. RNT Executive Director Andy Calkins and Director of Policy Liz Fideler worked along with Bill to flesh out the meeting report. Their help has been invaluable.

David Haselkorn, President
Recruiting New Teachers, Inc.

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Recruiting New Teachers, Inc. and the National Conference of State Legislatures gratefully acknowledge the Philip Morris Companies for underwriting both the working conference on State Policies to Improve the Teacher Workforce and the dissemination of the conference report.

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RNT is located at 385 Concord Avenue, Belmont, MA 02178. Telephone: (617) 489-6000.

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NCSL is located at 1560 Broadway, Suite 700, Denver, CO 80202. Telephone: (303) 830-2200.

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Executive Summary

Preface

The central issue for the United States as it approaches the 21st century is the development of its human capacity. Ironically, even though schools are the front line for meeting this challenge, the nation has historically paid scant attention to the development of education's prime human resource—namely, its teachers.

Today, however, the twin imperatives of education reform and tight budgets make it essential that state policymakers adopt coherent, comprehensive and innovative strategies to develop the teacher workforce. In the absence of coordinated policymaking, local practice and state regulations too often collide, and opportunities for greater efficiency, quality, and productivity are wasted—with consequent costs to taxpayers, to the nation's schools, and to the students they serve. Without improved teacher development policies, this nation will fail to build the qualified and diverse teacher workforce that today's and tomorrow's classrooms demand.

With this challenge in mind, Recruiting New Teachers (RNT) and the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) recently invited approximately 25 legislators and specialists in state policies relating to teacher development to gather in North Carolina for an intensive day of presentations and discussions that focused on how various state teacher policies could be integrated into a coherent and comprehensive statewide teacher development system. This report is intended to provide state leaders and policymakers with a preliminary overview of the major challenges and opportunities entailed in the creation and implementation of such policy.

Systemic Approaches to Teacher Development

As outlined in this document, a systemic approach to teacher development policy should encompass seven major aspects of teacher preparation and practice: recruitment, education, standards, roles and responsibilities, professional development, pay and benefits, and removal and retirement. While individual states must determine their own policy development process (to ensure that it is locally relevant), our conversation suggested ten guiding principles as starting points for the design and implementation of teacher development systems (see list, next page). Although preliminary in nature, they are drawn from the experience of a seasoned group of state legislators and policy analysts. As states commence, or continue, their own conversations about teacher development and educational reform, these principles can serve as useful guideposts. Ideally, they will help states forge a policymaking process and set of policies that reflect the three central conclusions of this report:

1. State policymakers need to understand what systemic teacher development policy is, and why it is critical to educational reform. Teacher development should be considered a means toward meaningful school renewal—not simply a means toward building the knowledge and skills of individual educators.

The significance of systemic teacher development to educational reform cannot be overstated. Reform is a complex process because it almost always involves altering human behavior and attitudes. Reformers may use dehumanized terms to talk about change—restructuring, systemic change, etc.—but the bottom line is that education will change only as fast as deeply entrenched human behavior patterns can change. Organizational structures and processes are critical to reform, but they are far from the sole issue. Teachers are the key to educational change because they are at the center of school process and culture. Before they can function on a wide-scale basis as change agents, however, teachers will need extensive development in their teaching, subject matter, management and interpersonal capacities.

Teacher development policy is most effective when each of the seven policy arenas noted above add up to form an integrated framework and when they are related to a broader set of reform goals and objectives. Unfortunately, more often than not, state policy regarding teachers is ad hoc and disjointed, assuring that the widely-desired goal of teacher excellence remains illusory and opportunities for greater educational efficiency and productivity are wasted.

2. State policymakers need to view systemic teacher policy as a way to clarify and connect potentially competing elements of the national reform agenda and to facilitate their implementation at the local level.

This day-long conversation between state legislators and policy experts echoed the main tenets of the current reform discourse, an agenda that includes: greater attention to systemic change; a shift from an input to an outcomes orientation; a conception of educational systems as reaching from pre-school through adult employment and incorporating health and social concerns; the belief that "all students can learn" and should be engaged in demanding intellectual work; a view of classrooms and schools as "learning communities" where students work cooperatively; and substantial changes in the education and credentialing of teachers in support of each of these reforms.

While agreeing with many of the elements of this emergent agenda, state legislators at the symposium flagged extensive barriers to reform at the state and district levels. It became clear that there is a chasm between the comprehensive and systemic rhetoric of national reform leaders and the frequently fragmented reality of reform at the state, district and local levels. The sources of difficulty at the state and local levels are myriad, e.g., strategic planning has been weak; research and data are lacking; the roles of various governmental levels are unclear; consensus has not been built about goals; teachers have not been central to the design and implementation of reform; public communication regarding specific reform initiatives has been nearly non-existent; and commitment to equitable and more profound investment in education's human resources has been largely absent.

If the substance of our conversation echoes the situation facing many state leaders, which we believe it does, the value of systemic teacher development policy is underscored. The

ten guiding principles for making and implementing such policy have been shaped in response to the major barriers to educational change delineated above. While focused on the aspects of teacher development highlighted in this report, the principles are equally applicable to other related school reform issues. If taken in their entirety, they can lend needed coherence to both the substance and the process of policymaking.

3. State policymakers need to support teacher development policy that enables improvement rather than dictates new behavior.

Educational change is fundamentally a local process. Policies set at the state level should enable local leaders to decide how reform approaches are designed and implemented, within broad resource and program parameters established by states and districts.

This emphasis on 'enabling' weaves through all of the guiding principles highlighted in this report and should be a priority as states develop policy in each of the teacher development arenas. State policymakers should continually ask themselves: "How do we know that our ideas regarding teacher recruitment, teacher education, standards or professional development address the current and future challenges in our state's schools and classrooms? Who is truly in the best position to be able to tell us?" If state leaders design policy with attention to each of the guiding principles—and the transcendent necessity for the policymaking process to include, not exclude, and for those policies to enable, rather than solely mandate—then state policy should address the real needs of local schools.

Guiding Principles
for the Design and Implementation of Teacher Development Policy

Ten salient lessons emerged from this meeting of state educational leaders and policy experts. In abbreviated form they are spelled out below:

Principle #1 Long-term, strategic thinking and planning—drawing upon solid research—should be the basis for designing and implementing teacher development policy.

Principle #2 Early in the design of teacher development systems, the roles and responsibilities of various governmental institutions must be clarified.

Principle #3 Once the locus of governmental responsibility is clarified, the design of teacher development systems should be a participatory process, with the state operating as a "quarterback" so that broad consensus is built among all of education's stakeholders.

Principle #4 America's changing demographics must be a primary concern in the design and implementation of teacher development policy.

Principle #5 Teachers should be at the heart of teacher development systems, playing an active role in their design and implementation. Comprehensive approaches to teacher development must be linked to statewide systemic reform.

Principle #6 Teacher development policy will be most effective if designed and implemented in conjunction with fundamental changes in the organization and management of schools.

Principle #7 Higher education institutions should be active in the design and implementation of comprehensive teacher development systems.

Principle #8 Outreach to and communication with both the citizenry and all state policymakers should be a permanent part of any effort to develop and implement teacher development systems.

Principle #9 The business of true reform has no 'conclusion'. Policymakers will need to think deeply and creatively about how reforms spawned by new teacher development policies can be broadened and sustained.

Principle #10 Money matters to teacher development. Challenging funding questions will have to be resolved as comprehensive teacher development systems are designed.

What Are Teacher Development Systems?

Broadly defined, teacher development systems are policy frameworks that comprehensively and coherently address the major arenas of teacher policy and practice in order to maximize the knowledge, skills, and abilities of a state's present and future teacher workforce. More specifically, a systemic approach to teacher development encompasses and interrelates the following seven aspects:

1. Recruitment

The identification and hiring of teachers by a school, district, or state. Do states conceive of recruitment as including the point at which teachers make their career choice, be it in high school, college or while in another occupation? What is involved in building a diverse teacher workforce that is representative of American society – and what is the responsibility of the state in that regard?

2. Education

The post-secondary education teachers receive prior to entering the profession. Should states require their teacher education institutions to be accredited? Should states stipulate the nature of teacher education programs? If so, through what means?

3. Standards

The formal expectations for what teachers must know and be able to do as professionals and for the programs that prepare them to teach. Along with program accreditation, licensure and certification are the primary mechanisms for enforcing standards. How should these standards be set—and by whom? Should states concern themselves at all with standards set by other states? Should states encourage experienced teachers to pursue certification by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards?

4. Roles & Responsibilities

The formal and informal elements of teachers' job descriptions. How can states make teaching roles more enriching, both to facilitate effective teacher performance and to make the profession more attractive to prospective teachers? In this regard, should states consider the school restructuring movement—with its focus on altering teacher roles—a teacher development strategy?

5. Professional Development

The education or training teachers engage in after completing higher education and entering the profession. How can the needs of beginning teachers be met during the induction year so as to increase retention? How can states foster development opportunities that promote ongoing teacher learning, not just dictate new behavior via training? Most challenging, how can states approach professional development as a means to simultaneously bolster teacher capacity and renew schools and districts?

6. Pay & Benefits

The level and basis of teacher remuneration.* A persistent policy question in this arena: should states move toward performance-based pay systems as part of a teacher development strategy? What is known about how salaries affect the quality of teaching or the teacher workforce?

7. Removal & Retirement

The final chapter of each teacher's classroom career.* Considerations in this arena relate to the efficient identification and removal of unsatisfactory teachers and to the retirement and replacement of successful teachers. What are the consequences of early-retirement policies or of using teacher pension funds to finance current educational needs?

** N.B. Unfortunately, because of time constraints, discussants touched only lightly upon each of these two aspects despite their importance.*

Coherence: *A Defining Characteristic*

To be systemic, state policy and practice regarding teachers must be coherent; if policymaking is ad hoc and disjointed, the goal of teacher excellence will remain illusory. But what does coherence entail?

First, it should entail internal consistency. That is, the seven policy arenas should relate to each other, forming an integrated set of policies. State policymakers need to be sure, for example, that recruitment efforts are coordinated with induction policies; or, that accreditation requirements are compatible with licensure and certification standards; or, that professional development polices advance changes in teacher's roles and responsibilities. Second, teacher development policies should be externally consistent. Simply put, they should be part of a state's larger strategy to improve education through organizational change. "Professional development of teachers will be the heartbeat of effective districts and schools," Susan Zelman, Associate Commissioner, Division of Educational Personnel, Massachusetts, observed at the symposium. "School culture cannot be changed without teacher empowerment and improvement." Education is quintessentially a profession that "puts people first;" accordingly, change in education is largely about enabling individuals and the organizational cultures in which they work to change.

> **"A problem with many reforms through the 1980s was that legislators lacked an 'overall, unifying vision,' says a legislative committee aide....'They never stopped to ask, "What do we really want to do?" and take a long-range look....They never stop to remember what they did in preceding sessions. They never say, "We have a couple of building blocks here. Why don't we build the next floor?" ' "** (Lively, 1992)

The Reform Context: *Why Teacher Development Systems Are Important*

Perhaps the most powerful driving force in the creation and funding of effective teacher development systems is the current state of education reform itself. According to three of the presenters at the symposium—Michael Cohen, Arthur Wise, and Mary Kennedy—several interrelated reform trends are surfacing across the nation which logically suggest the need for coherent state teacher policy. Taking the broad view, Michael Cohen, Director of the National Alliance for Educational Restructuring (and a principal architect of Goals 2000, the Clinton

Administration's education reform legislation), highlighted five characteristics of an emerging national reform agenda.

1. Systemic reform is the overall goal, with the dominant concern being how various pieces fit together.
2. States are operating more and more from the assumption that "all students can learn."
3. Reforms are shifting in orientation from inputs to outcomes. This has best been exemplified by the growing interest in national goals, standards and assessments, as well as state performance assessments.
4. As outcomes become the priority, equity returns as a major issue. Educators and others are coming to recognize that all students should have an equal chance to meet the new standards.
5. The reform agenda is no longer just about kindergarten through 12th grade. It now runs from pre-school to adult education and incorporates health and social concerns—in short, an integrated, comprehensive lifelong education system.

Later, Mary Kennedy, Director of the National Center for Research on Teacher Learning at Michigan State University, outlined three principles of the emerging reform agenda that directly impact classrooms—teachers' main stage.

1. Students should be engaged in intellectual activity, tackling big ideas and critical thinking, not rote memorization.
2. Teachers should be creating "learning communities" in classrooms and other learning spaces in which students interact frequently, work cooperatively, and maybe even noisily. This runs counter to the conventional view of good classrooms being quiet and orderly with the teacher quickly correcting all errors.
3. All students, not just the gifted or talented, have to be engaged in intellectual work and learning communities. This translates into heterogeneous grouping of students with teachers presenting material in ways that accommodate all learning capacities and styles.

The success of both Cohen's system-wide prescriptions or Kennedy's classroom-focused solutions depends equally on the commitment and skill of teachers. As a result, if state leaders concur that these are worthwhile goals, then state policies must be framed that enable teachers to carry out this agenda.

Raising Professional Standards

There are signs that these policies are already taking shape. Arthur Wise, President, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, discussed developments in teacher education, accreditation, and licensure that hold substantial promise for developing new quality standards for the profession, applicable to both the classroom and system-wide aspects of the reform equation discussed by Kennedy and Cohen.

"The Agenda for Teacher Education in a Democracy" is an ongoing project funded by Southwestern Bell Foundation to improve teacher preparation and link it to school restructuring. The Agenda is sponsored by the Education Commission of the States (ECS), the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and the Center for Educational Renewal, directed by John Goodlad. ECS awarded grants to institutional sites in California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming and is working with state leaders to simultaneously improve state policies related to the preparation of teachers and link those policies with school restructuring efforts. (Finney, 1992)

Wise believes that the nation is at an historic juncture regarding teacher education and standards. Developments in accreditation, licensure, and certification are coming together to shape the teaching profession much the way medical education and medicine were shaped by the profes- sionalization movement of the Progressive Era (1890-1920). In teacher education, Wise identified four fundamental reforms now well underway: 1) a preference for liberally educated teachers who study a discipline in depth; 2) an emerging acceptance of teaching among the ranks of the intellectually-based professions; 3) a commitment to teacher preparation that emphasizes practical, or clinical, experiences; and 4) a growing recognition of multiculturalism in the curriculum of colleges of education.

Developments in accreditation, licensure, and certification are coming together to shape the teaching profession much the way medical education and medicine were shaped by the professionalization movement of the Progressive Era (1890-1920).

At the same time, states are increasingly concerned that their teacher education institutions be accredited through a reliable review process based on sound standards. For example, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), representing 27 national organizations of teachers, teacher educators, policymakers, and school specialists, enacted more rigorous standards in 1987 and is encouraging states to draw on its benchmarks for accrediting teacher preparation programs.

Teaching is one of the few professions in the U.S. that does not require its members to graduate from a nationally accredited preparation program prior to attaining initial state licensure. NCATE has accredited only 500 of the nation's 1200-plus schools of education. Through cooperative arrangements with 28 state departments of education, NCATE is linking professional accreditation with state licensure, emphasizing teacher knowledge and performance. NCATE has also led the initial effort to connect those who are reforming teacher education and teaching to those who are creating richer and more demanding curriculum standards for K-12 students, e.g., professional associations such as the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

In addition, 17 states are currently working with the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Suppport Consortium (INTASC), a project of the Council of Chief State School Officers, to delineate model performance-based standards for licensing beginning teachers; 22 other states are providing feedback to INTASC on draft standards.

Moreover, nearly one third of all states have established professional standards boards, nine of which set licensure standards and fees independently of the state edu-

Minnesota's independent standards board, the Board of Teaching, in cooperation with the State Board of Education and the Higher Education Coordinating Board, developed a restructured teacher preparation and licensing system that includes piloting of professional development school models that vary within Board-set parameters. Initial licensure depends on completion of an outcomes-based, programmatically coherent, and clinically-focused preparation program that includes a year-long supervised internship in a professional development school, as well as completion of multiple statewide examinations of teaching knowledge and skills. The system is expected to be fully implemented by 1995.

cation agency (i.e., members are appointed by the governor and approved by and accountable to the legislature). California and Oregon established autonomous boards in the early '70s; Minnesota, Nevada, and Iowa went this route in the '80s; Kentucky, Georgia, Indiana, and Wyoming have the newest independent boards. Except for Nevada's and Iowa's, these boards also regulate suspension and revocation of licenses to professional school personnel. Whether autonomous or advisory, professional standards boards face the challenge of assuring that standards for teacher preparation and licensure are coherent.

Better informed and more energetic state leadership will be required to move these advances beyond piecemeal experimentation.

A revolution is also underway in certification, represented by the efforts of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and similar state-level entities to establish a mechanism for professional standard setting in teaching, akin to those found in professions such as law, medicine, and architecture. In 1987 the National Board began developing new standards and assessments for the advanced certification of highly skilled veteran teachers. The Board's first assessments will be field tested in 1993-94.

Challenge and Opportunity

Despite such hopeful developments, it became clear from the ensuing discussion that these advancements in teacher education and standards have only just begun to realize their potential as reform stratagems. Better informed and more energetic state leadership will be required to move these advances beyond piecemeal experimentation.

Historically, however, it has often been difficult to mobilize the political capital needed to effect comprehensive approaches to teacher development. First, such reforms are generally invisible to the public or require a nuanced understanding that is rarely amenable to sound bite solutions. Second, if the public does not view teaching as demanding intellectual work, investments in teacher development will be deemed superfluous. Third, since teachers themselves have long regarded their preservice courses and inservice training as either inadequate or irrelevant, there is often understandably scant enthusiasm within the profession itself for simply "more of the same."

Nevertheless, as researchers begin to demonstrate the link between teacher capacity, professional development opportunities (and professional networks), and student outcomes (McLaughlin and Talbert, 1993), such complacency is likely to give way to the demand for teachers to be prepared differently, to take on new roles, and to develop themselves continuously as professionals. And, when it does, policymakers will be faced with both enormous challenge and opportunity: to create teacher development policy frameworks that are student-focused, teacher-driven, and outcome-based—in

Connecticut's 1986 Educational Enhancement Act **considered the recruitment, preparation, induction, and continuing education of teachers as a professional development continuum. Connecticut began by raising teacher salaries, overhauling teacher preparation, and standardizing the admission process by requiring, among other things, that students pass reading, writing, and math tests (CONNCEPT) in order to enter a teacher education program. Connecticut developed its own exit test (CONNTENT) for program completers. The certification system is said to be the most demanding in the nation—a 3-tier system using initial, provisional, and professional certificates. From a peak of $3.8 million, Connecticut now spends about $700,000 annually on professional development for teachers.**

sum, to incorporate teacher development into a more comprehensive, coherent, and strategic school reform agenda.

Obviously, each state will need to grapple with these issues based on its own circumstances and policy contexts. Notwithstanding, in our day-long discussion at least ten general principles (see box and next section) for designing and implementing state teacher development policies emerged. Most target process (the "why," "how," and "by whom" of policy design and implementation), leaving the content of teacher development policy (the "what") to the teachers, administrators, parents and public who should be at the heart of the action.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Principle # 1.

Long-term, strategic thinking and planning — drawing upon solid research— should be the basis for designing and implementing teacher development policy.

Principle # 2.

Early in the design of teacher development systems, the roles and responsibilities of various governmental institutions must be clarified.

Principle # 3.

Once the locus of governmental responsibility is clarified, the design of teacher development systems should be a participatory process, with the state operating as a "quarterback" so that broad consensus is built among all of education's stakeholders.

Principle # 4.

America's changing demographics must be a primary concern in the design and implementation of teacher development policy.

Principle # 5.

Teachers should be at the heart of teacher development systems, playing an active role in their design and implementation. Comprehensive approaches to teacher development must be linked to statewide systemic reform.

Principle # 6.

Teacher development policy will be most effective if designed and implemented in conjunction with fundamental changes in the organization and management of schools.

Principle # 7.

Higher education institutions should be active in the design and implementation of comprehensive teacher development systems.

Principle # 8.

Outreach to and communication with both the citizenry and all state policymakers should be a permanent part of any effort to develop and implement teacher development systems.

Principle # 9.

The business of true reform has no 'conclusion'. Policymakers will need to think deeply and creatively about how reforms spawned by new teacher development policies can be broadened and sustained.

Principle # 10.

Money matters to teacher development. Challenging funding questions will have to be resolved as comprehensive teacher development systems are designed.

II. Lessons from the Conversation

Principle #1 *Strategic Planning*

Long-term, strategic thinking and planning—drawing upon solid research—should be the basis for designing and implementing teacher development policy.

How can state leaders overcome the conditions that so often lead to short-term, parochial approaches to policymaking? Teacher development, as with many state concerns, is hindered by the pressures on state leaders to focus on immediate policy questions that are most important to their particular constituents, to make decisions without good data to guide them, and to be impatient for results.

Teacher Supply: A Major Planning Challenge

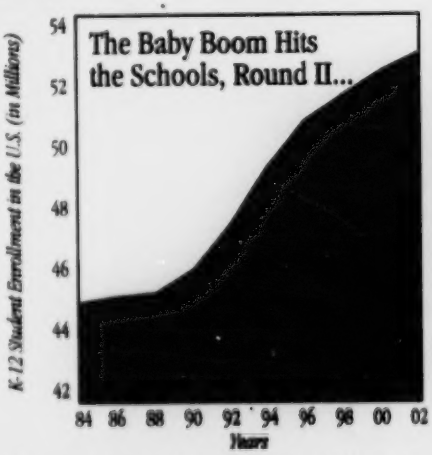
Teacher supply provides an excellent example of the planning challenge. To be effective, recruitment should be consonant with teacher standards, with moves to alter teacher roles and responsibilities, and with plans to offer early-retirement incentives. But, as the legislators gathered for the symposium widely acknowledged, state policymakers tend to look at the short-term—is there currently an adequate supply of teachers in our state?—when instead they should consider whether the future supply will offer sufficient quality and diversity.

The situation is complicated further because some legislative leaders feel they have been burned in the past by responding to projections about dire shortages that, subsequently, failed to materialize. One Vermont legislator cited the case of 32 students who were angry with Vermont's higher education system for enticing them into teaching, when in fact there were scant in-state teaching opportunities.

Exacerbating the planning challenge for legislators is the tendency to ignore other states' needs, even when they might mesh with one's own. For example, while Vermont and Pennsylvania currently have teacher surpluses, Texas has a shortage. One solution would be to create formal education and recruitment links among these and other states. But, legislators at the symposium disagreed about whether states should spend their limited funds developing teachers for other states. A few feared losing control of standards if they were to enter a multi-state collaborative.

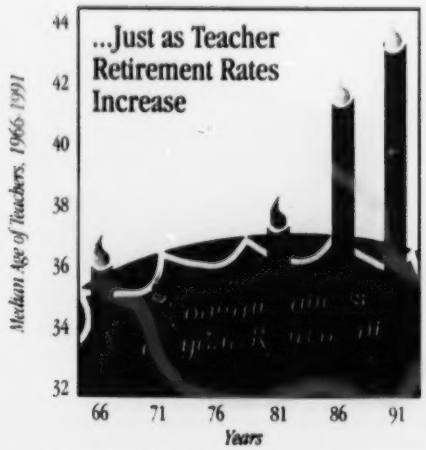
Sharon Robinson, then Director of the National Education Association's National Center for Innovation (and now Assistant Secretary, U. S. Office of Educational Research and Improvement), said she finds it helpful to picture teacher recruitment as a continuum: recruitment starts early, with precollegiate programs that encourage talented students—especially minorities—to go to college, and entails interventions with potential teachers through their first year in the profession.

Robinson also advised states to expand their teacher preparation and recruitment sights



The demographic "echo" of the baby boom is already beginning to move through lower elementary grades, as this chart reveals. By the turn of the century, schools in the U.S. will be serving more students that they did at the height of the earlier boom. Source: *Projections of Education Statistics to the Year 2002*, National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education

A national study of precollegiate teacher recruitment programs, conducted by Recruiting New Teachers for the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, identified a variety of high school and middle school programs in 42 states serving approximately 30,000 students annually, 38% of whom are young people of color. Copies of the executive summary and/or the complete report are available from Recruiting New Teachers, Inc., 385 Concord Avenue, Belmont, MA 02178. Telephone: (617) 489-6000.



More than a quarter of the nation's teachers are age 50 or above, and the median age of teachers is at its highest point in four decades. Over the next ten years, teacher attrition rates due to retirement are expected to soar. Source: U.S. Department of Education.

beyond their own borders. She recommended establishing statewide recruitment campaigns, linked to efficient and responsive district-managed selection practices and regional teacher job banks. Multi-state collaboratives would, in her view, help balance out the variations in teacher supply among states.

Susan Zelman echoed her remarks, highlighting the Northeast Common Market Project as a collaborative model. Begun in late 1987, its impetus was a shared concern regarding the continual supply of highly-qualified educators in the Northeast region in the 21st century.

Research-based Decision-making

Solid research and information on teacher labor force and labor market conditions must guide the design and implementation of teacher development policy. Discussants commonly complained of the data and information gaps created by state fiscal crises. As states attempt to balance their budgets, they have made significant cuts in their departments of education, especially in staffing. Typically, among the first areas affected are research, evaluation and planning.

The Northeast Common Market Project is a collaborative effort of the Commissioners of Education in the New England states and New York and The Regional Laboratory for Educational Improvement of the Northeast and Islands. To assure a supply of highly-qualified educators, the Project has conducted a four-year educator supply and demand study and developed and implemented a Northeast Regional Credential (NRC) that enhances the mobility of educators across state boundaries in the Northeast.

In 1990 four midwestern states—Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas—created the MINK exchange certificate, a reciprocity agreement that is less complicated than the NRC, aimed at eliminating the need for awarding emergency credentials to licensed teachers who move into a state and are not yet in full compliance with the gaining state's certification requirements. A similar project underway in the Northwest may link as many as ten states with reciprocity for teacher licenses.

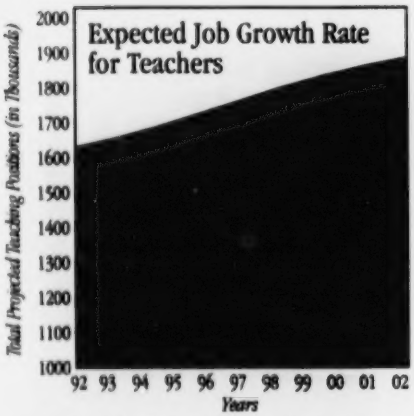
The states of the Southern Regional Education Board have a long history of cooperation in collaborative data collection and policy development and have explored strengthening regional reciprocity agreements.

At the national level, the Task Force on Teacher Licensing of the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC), a program of the Council of Chief State School Officers, is crafting performance-based standards and assessment strategies for entry into the profession that are intended to be compatible with the advanced certification standards of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. Task Force members include: CA, CT, DE, FL, GA, KY, LA, MA, MN, NY, NC, PA, SC, TX, VT, WA, WI.

The National Education Association's study of the teaching workforce, "Status of the American Public School Teacher, 1990-1991" (1992), provides a framework for collecting the data necessary for generating comprehensive pictures of labor market dynamics within a given state and across the nation and for recognizing and avoiding potentially contradictory policies.

The Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS), produced by the National Center for Education Statistics (1992), provides comprehensive national data concerning the school workforce and teacher supply and demand. SASS, an integrated survey of public and private schools, school districts, principals, and teachers, was conducted first during the 1987-88 school year, again in 1990-91, and will be conducted at three-year intervals thereafter. Follow-up survey reports detail characteristics of teachers who stay, move, and leave the profession.

Yet it is precisely these functions that enable policymakers to peer over the immediate horizon, understand the impact of demographic trends, and, in the words of Sharon Robinson, "anticipate events rather than be overtaken by them." Developing stronger regional planning collaboratives for gathering and analyzing data (with more compatible collection protocols), as well as statewide and regional teacher job banks, were among the means suggested for overcoming these information challenges.



According to projections by the National Center for Education Statistics, the number of elementary school teachers nationally will increase by nearly 14% over the next decade. The number of secondary school teachers will climb by 15%. Source: *Projections of Education Statistics to the Year 2002*. National Center for Education Statistics U.S. Department of Education

Giving Change a Chance to Mature

Even if legislators do have data on which to base planning, they may fall victim to another form of short-term thinking—impatience with the change process. The development of a high-quality teacher workforce is an evolutionary process that cannot be completed over one biennium (the average legislative time frame for results). Policymakers in the state of Washington seem to recognize the time it takes to build in meaningful change. The state's restructuring plan, "Schools for the 21st Century," a six-year program intended to encourage educational creativity, professionalism, and initiative via grants and regulation waivers, particularly addressed the need for time, both in the specific sense (i.e., supporting ten extra days for teacher planning, technical assistance, and staff development beyond the regular school year) and in the broader sense (i.e., giving change activities a real chance to mature). The legislature awarded funds to 21 projects in 1987 and added 12 new sites in 1990 (David, et al., 1990). Currently, the Washington State Senate's education committee is fine-tuning a new $96 million school reform proposal that provides for gradual implementation of a performance-based assessment system.

Principle #2 *Clarified Governmental Roles*

Early in the design of teacher development systems, the roles and responsibilities of various governmental institutions must be clarified.

Distributing Responsibility and Control

What teacher development functions should lie with local schools, districts, states, regional bodies or federal agencies? What collaborations must be forged? Who can bring the (frequently competing) parties to the table? Concerns about the distribution of governmental responsibility surfaced during our conversation in several specific forms. First, as alluded to above, issues of jurisdiction and standards make inter-state collaboration regarding teacher recruitment and training problematic.

> **"Everything we've done in the past where we've tried to tell people what to do has never worked. We need to let people do their own thing in their own states, to the best of their ability." (Participating Legislator)**

Second, within their states, legislators admit to increasing uncertainty over who should make decisions regarding various phases of teacher development. (For example, should teacher recruitment and training be a national, state or local concern?)

Third, pleas for local control were heard throughout our conversation. In the words of one legislator, "Everything we've done in the past where we've tried to tell people what to do has never worked. We need to let people do their own thing in their own states, to the best of their ability."

Finally, the federal role sparks considerable dissension. Some legislators at the symposium wondered if there should be any federal support for teacher development, given that it plays a small role fiscally and programmatically. Proponents of this stance see federal initiatives as more distracting than beneficial for local districts. In fact, some see federal initiatives as an encroachment on state constitutional prerogatives in education, and most legislators present appeared to view federal mandates as one of their biggest problems. Yet many of the non-legislators on the panel believed strongly in the federal government's ability to exert catalytic leverage and leadership in the area of content delivery and school delivery standards, as well as in helping to fund a capacity development agenda for teachers and schools that is consonant with the emerging national consensus on education goals and standards.

The nub of the debate over an

The comprehensive Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990 prescribes major changes in the operation of local schools "to improve their capacity to help every child attain the state-defined learning goals at a high level of achievement." Among the reforms: the state leaves establishment of a specific curriculum to local districts; turns certain management responsibilities over to local school councils, composed of the principal, teachers, and parents; and asks districts to participate in state-funded consortia on staff development.

South Carolina found its 1984 comprehensive state reform law too test-driven and state-controlled. New legislation in 1989 permitted greater local control and created the Center for the Advancement of Teaching and School Leadership to support school change initiatives. The Center provides state and regional training (such as leadership development institutes for administrator-teacher teams) to help schools restructure and works with the state's 28 public and private teacher education programs.

increased federal role in education is control: Who will gain and who will lose? Ellen Guiney, Education Advisor, U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, sparked the most heated and partisan discussion of the day by introducing the Chapter 1 Commission's proposed mandate that 20 percent of Chapter 1 funds go to school-based professional development. In reaction, state leaders complained about being over-mandated and under-funded—in essence, a fear of losing control.

Many offered specific suggestions on how the federal role in school reform might be effectively altered: if new mandates are made, they must come with additional funding, thus supplementing not supplanting existing support. Moreover, new monies, or altered funding streams, should go as swiftly and straightforwardly to schools and teachers as possible. Several legislators recommended bypassing the state level altogether. Finally, legislators pleaded that federal interventions respect the progress many states made across the 1980s in school reform; they are fearful that increased or altered federal funding will result in the feds "mucking-up" state-driven reforms.

The nub of the debate over an increased federal role in education is control: Who will gain and who will lose?

Possibly the most compelling reason for grappling with shifting governmental responsibilities regarding education, and in particular teacher development, is that many of our fundamental challenges are beyond the reach of any single school, district, or state. This rationale was aptly stated by one sunbelt state representative in response to suggestions about multi-state teacher development initiatives: "Because of the economic condition our nation finds itself in, folks are moving to the sunbelt states where they think opportunity for employment is increasing. Subsequently, until the national economy raises itself up where people will remain in your states, they're coming to us...and they're coming in droves. They're all converging on me, and I have to deal with them. So, it's imperative that we develop training mechanisms, and that we recruit from your states."

In "Making Schools Work for Children in Poverty," the Commission on Chapter 1 recommends that at least 20 percent of Chapter 1 dollars be invested in capacity development for teachers and building administrators aimed at restructuring their schools to ensure that all students reach high standards. The substantial set-aside could support curriculum development; redesign of instruction; school-level decision-making about professional development needs; the availability in all regions of high-quality providers of professional and school development services; and at the national level, research, development, and dissemination of effective programs and strategies for schools with high concentrations of poverty.

The federal government appears to have struck a constructive balance between control and support with two major national mathematics and science education programs, one quite new and the other with a track record. Through new Statewide Systemic Initiatives, the National Science Foundation (NSF) is encouraging comprehensive systemic changes in mathematics and science education in 21 states. Consistent with the emphasis on working systemically, NSF's multi-million dollar 5-year awards include pre-service and in-service teacher development components to support reform efforts.

Since the mid-1980s the U.S. Department of Education has administered the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Program for Mathematics and Science Education, a school/college collaborative grant program whose priorities include improving teacher recruitment and retention in the fields of elementary and secondary mathematics and science, improving teacher qualifications and skills in those fields, improving curricula, and increasing access of all elementary and secondary students to science and mathematics instruction.

Principle #3 *Participatory Design*

Once the locus of governmental responsibility is clarified, the design of teacher development systems should be a participatory process, with the state operating as a "quarterback" so that broad consensus is built among all of education's stakeholders.

Consensus or Confusion?

As with much of systemic education reform, teacher development poses a major design dilemma. A central problem is identifying, and generating wide support for, the strategies and tactics necessary to move comprehensive change from rhetoric to action. Several questions loom: Who will lead the design process, one requiring both targeted and multi-faceted approaches? How do we get our hands around all of the elements that comprise systemic change? If reform is pursued incrementally, how can we overcome crowded political agendas and limited resources to continue the process of linking new areas to the policy base? And perhaps most fundamentally, how do we build and sustain the political and public will to support the change process over the long haul?

> ***"The multiplicity of the reform agenda is clear: as we talk about undertaking change, we find little commonality. We do not do a good job of coming together and creating a common agenda."***
> **(Participating Legislator)**

The standard approach to school change—what might be called a social engineering approach—has not worked well. Models of excellence or best practice alone do not lead to wider-scale change; top-down mandates have at best a mixed history.

Most troubling is the gap between the visionary rhetoric of national reform leaders and the reality of reform at the state, district and local levels, a dissonance that became apparent during our discussion. The picture of national reform consensus presented by Cohen and Wise early in the day simply did not hold up in the limited focus group of state policymakers we had assembled. Many heads nodded in agreement with the comment of one legislator: "The multiplicity of the reform agenda is clear: as we talk about undertaking change, we find little commonality. We do not do a good job of coming together and creating a common agenda."

Discussants came up with a recommendation for resolving the design dilemma: basing the change process on a broad, participatory mechanism meshing state policies on goals and outcomes with local level leadership on objectives and activities. That is, state government's role should be "steering, not rowing"—making policy decisions.

Michigan's Partnership for New Education, described as a "holistic effort conceptually and financially," is a public-private non-profit organization, led by Judith Lanier, former Holmes Group director. The Partnership's board is composed of top leaders from all major sectors, e.g., government, corporations, labor unions, research universities, and schools. The state, business, and higher education agreed to raise $48 million over 5 years for a systemic change effort involving 4 components: a school/university alliance, business/community alliance, team-building leadership academies (for school, district-level, and state-level teams), and an educational extension service (technical assistance). Leadership Academy director Barbara Markle uses experiential learning to "flatten the playing field, break down barriers, so participants see that when problems are so complex they can't do things alone."

then moving as much responsibility as possible for implementation to local actors.

To foster state-wide consensus around reform, one legislator urged his peers to become "quarterbacks of ideas, rather than initiators." Generating the involvement of a widely representative group of ground-level actors in the design and implementation of policy would lessen conflict over reform approaches and broaden political and public support for educational change.

> *"I've been suggesting to people lately that legislators, rather than being the initiators of ideas, should become the quarterbacks of ideas. A part of our problem with change is the process we go through. As legislators, we too often come up with ideas or programs and then argue among ourselves without passing them. We all might be better served if educators from a lot of different levels came together initially to debate policy directions. Once one or two ideas were broadly supported, a group of legislators would then be ready to run with them."*
> (Participating Legislator)

"The word government is from a Greek word, which means 'to steer.' The job of government is to steer, not to row the boat. Delivering services is rowing, and government is not very good at rowing." (Savas, in Osborne and Gaebler, 1992)

Still More Inclusive Dialogues

As part of the consensus-building process, state leaders need to engage in frank discussions with teacher unions and higher education leaders regarding the perception that educators generally are major hindrances to reform. Participants in our conversation acknowledge that they and their colleagues too frequently dance around such thorny issues. More than one wryly quoted Pogo in reference to the lack of consensus among educators: "We have seen the enemy and it is us."

Several legislators expressed frustration that teacher policy discussions in the legislature are dominated by salary, tenure, and binding arbitration—a situation they believe is the fault of the teachers' unions. One legislator growled, "The unions can't decide if they're unions or associations, and teachers demand more money when they're above the state salary average and work far fewer months."

Judy Olson, State Senator from South Dakota, reported on her (unsuccessful) attempts to eliminate tenure in South Dakota and suggested that states hold inclusive conversations to decide for themselves whether tenure has a place in their system of teacher development. Tenure is linked to issues vital to effective teaching—teacher trust and risk-taking. If states tamper with or remove tenure, symposium participants indicated that they would be wise to do so as part of a coordinated set of policies which give teachers benefits in return, e.g., added funds for professional development, salary improvements, expanded teacher roles.

In contrast, several legislators expressed support for teacher unions, arguing that they are forced to fight over limited resources. Indeed, one participant saluted the unions as a valuable ally and fingered school administrators and trustees as the major barriers to reform in his state. No one disputed that educators could be a more powerful force if they would speak with a unified voice.

Despite the heated rhetoric regarding teacher unions, legislators see the need to find ways

to overcome past animosities and develop a working relationship with union leaders. Unions can, for example, play a valuable role in helping states better understand teacher labor market and labor force issues. And, at the district level, there is solid evidence from across the nation that reforms are most effective when unions are partners in the change process.

Legislators agreed that local school boards also need to be brought into the loop on teacher development policy. Board members, seldom included in state-level reform discussions or planning, tend to resist change and remain poorly informed about cutting-edge educational developments. (Directly addressing these concerns, the National School Boards Association now sponsors a two-day seminar to help its members better understand their role in education reform.)

Finally, the need to engage teachers, parents, administrators, and others more centrally in state-level policy discussions was frequently voiced throughout the day (see Principles #5 and #8 below). In the words of RNT President David Haselkorn, "Pluralistic participation in policymaking is not simply a matter of political correctness, but substantive soundness."

"The tough job of reforming America's urban public schools will not be accomplished by fiat, threats, exhortations, or slogans. It will be accomplished through genuine alliances between management and teachers, at the district level and at every school....When a suitable invitation is extended, teachers and their unions join responsibly in planning and executing reforms of many kinds." (Rosow and Zager, 1989)

Principle #4 *Multicultural/Demographic Awareness*

America's changing demographics must be a primary concern in the design and implementation of teacher development policy. State policies must address the educational needs of an ethnically, racially, linguistically, and socio-economically diverse student population, as well as accommodating learning style differences in all students.

Building a Culturally Sensitive Teacher Workforce

Recent developments in curriculum and pedagogy circles regarding diverse student populations call for changes in the skills and approaches of teachers with respect to issues such as cultural background, family structure, teaching and learning styles, diagnosis and assessment, classroom strategies, and more. In turn, these new skills require changes in teacher preparation, teacher roles, and professional development—all of which, of course, are dependent on new state policies and altered practices in teacher development institutions. Sharon Robinson raised these questions clearly, asking the assembled legislators, "Is policy regarding children and the issue of diversity taken seriously in your state, even if the population is perceived as homogeneous?" She tied the diversity issue directly to teachers by highlighting the need to widen the normative lens by which society views schools and students.

Many legislators agreed that reform will be hindered as long as the teaching force fails to reflect more closely the race and ethnicity of the student population, particularly in urban areas.

Presence of People of Color in K-12 Education

While the percentage of students who are children of color has increased to 30% nationwide, only one in ten teachers in the U.S. is a person of color — and that percentage is declining. The U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources has estimated that unless current trends change, minority group members will make up just 5% of the teacher workforce by the end of the century.
Source: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education

Beyond teacher skills, the dominant concern sparked by the diversity issue was the representativeness of the teaching force—clearly a pressing issue for many states and districts, even those reporting an adequate total pool of teachers. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (1992), 44 percent of U. S. public schools have no minority teachers. Many legislators agreed that reform will be hindered as long as the teaching force fails to reflect more closely the race and ethnicity of the student population, particularly in urban areas. As one representative admitted: "We're not doing a very good job in terms of the recruitment of minorities for teaching positions. We have no statewide policy to address the issue. If we fail miserably anywhere, it is in this regard."

Another participant proposed taking advantage of the historic increase in the nation's immigrant population, noting that since teaching has been an important career opportunity for first-generation college students, frequently from immigrant families, a policy with this intent could help another generation of immigrants become full participants in American society. Still other discussants noted with approval the phenomenon of states with rapidly increasing minority student enrollments having been among the

first to recognize the importance of "grow your own" programs for minority teacher recruitment.

Another idea concerned bolstering the federal role regarding minority teacher recruitment, i.e., reviving the relevant parts of Title V of the Higher Education Act (for which Congress appropriated no funds in 1992) within the purview of the 1993 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In the opinion of Ellen Guiney, the new administration's priorities, such as President Clinton's interest in a teacher corps, could affect whether some aspects of Title V are revisited.

The Southern Regional Task Force on Minority Teacher Recruitment, a project of the Southern Education Foundation, brought five states into a consortium to address minority teacher issues. Together they are generating a creative recruitment strategy that extends from K-12 through higher education.

Similarly, the Consortium for Minorities in Teaching Careers, established in 1989 under the aegis of Jose Mendez, president of the Ana G. Mendez Foundation in Puerto Rico, consists of 2- and 4-year colleges, research universities, historically black colleges, and Hispanic-serving institutions from California, New York, Tennessee, Maryland, Iowa, Louisiana, and Puerto Rico. The ten member institutions draw on the resources and experiences of the others to develop local and joint initiatives.

Finally, the recruitment of minority students is a priority of both the Teacher Cadet Program for high school students and the ProTeam Program for middle school students in South Carolina. One of the first states to develop precollegiate teacher recruitment programs, South Carolina established its Center for Teacher Recruitment in 1986 and now provides it with nearly one million dollars in funding annually. Also, in partnership with the Center, two historically black institutions receive approximately $200,000 in state funding to recruit high school seniors and facilitate their progress through the teacher education programs.

Principle #5 *Developing Teachers as Reform Partners*

Teachers should be at the heart of teacher development systems, playing an active role in their design and implementation. Comprehensive approaches to teacher development must be linked to statewide systemic reform.

Teacher-Driven Policy

States need to enable local leadership on teacher development. The engine for effective teacher development will be teachers in local schools, whom Connecticut's Commissioner of Education calls "the center of the educational universe." Unfortunately, policymakers and others tend to think of teachers as subjects of policy, not participants in the making and enactment of policy.

Several legislators delivered this message during our conference. Most notably, a midwestern legislator who is a former schoolteacher repeatedly asked his colleagues to recognize the expertise of teachers and to get out of the habit of turning to higher education and other professional organizations for advice. Weaving this theme with the calls for consensus-building and inclusive conversations, another midwesterner identified the key to effective teacher development as "taking time to ask the people about whom decisions are going to be made, what they think and how they feel about their own destiny."

"The absence of teachers from the dialogue and decision-making on reform has been a serious omission. It has yielded faulty definitions of the problem, solutions that compound rather than confront the problem, and a demeaned and demoralized teaching force. Efforts to improve education are doomed to failure until teachers become respected partners in the process." (Cohn and Kottkamp, 1993)

Regulating Less, Assisting More

Underlying the call for teachers to be at the heart of systemic change efforts is the conception of policy as "enabling" local actors to make decisions within broad resource and standard parameters, instead of "mandating" policy and procedures (McLaughlin, 1990).

Florida's "Blueprint 2000" is a good example of systemic teacher development policy. The impetus for this 1991 legislation was recognition by state leaders that micromanagement from the top had not produced good schools. When implemented, the reform plan is hoped to address comprehensively several of the arenas of teaching—standards, via an outcomes orientation; roles and responsibilities, via the school site councils; and professional development, via a requirement that districts support it with at least 2.5 percent of their budgets. Most important, the legislation exemplifies systemic policy which is internally and externally coherent; each teacher policy arena relates to the others, and in total they advance a broader set of educational reforms.

Another state that is mindful of building school and teacher capacity is New York, whose Board of Regents approved "A New Compact for Learning" in 1991. Charged with developing a plan to implement the New Compact, the New York State Curriculum and Assessment Council has recommended comprehensive and systemic reforms linking student learning outcomes

Pennsylvania learned a hard lesson **when embarking on systemic change. Inviting principals and administrators, but not teachers, to the first meeting on Re:Learning (a partnership between the Coalition of Essential Schools and the Education Commission of the States) was a decision that made Pennsylvania teachers feel undervalued and cost their early support. Having advanced well in their undertaking, project leaders now see that "Change is more successful when everyone is welcomed on board early and sincerely....teachers should be among the first." (Arisman, 1992)**

and standards, curriculum frameworks, assessment of student learning, and shared accountability among state and local actors. To these ends, the report specifies that ongoing staff development be embedded in the process of developing and evaluating new curriculum and assessment tasks (including time for teachers to work together, as well as access to research, information, and expertise on instructional issues); organizational development; and reforms of teacher and administrator preparation programs.

Ongoing Professional Development

Professional development is a critical mechanism for systemic reform, requiring special attention in the forging of policy. Its form and content need to reflect the best thinking and practice on education. Ideally, professional development should be the linchpin of both intellectual reform (encompassing the content and process of learning) and organizational reform (entailing school governance and staffing roles and responsibilities).

Michael Cohen asked legislators to consider how professional development might be organized in a new comprehensive system of teacher development. He cautioned that states, districts, and schools have typically followed unproductive paths regarding the form and content of professional development and challenged legislators to design and implement more innovative approaches, such as professional development that is teacher-driven and school-based, involving a critical mass of teachers (in order to accomplish substantial change), and relating to broader efforts to reform curriculum, pedagogy, organization, or management. Involving teachers in the design of their own professional development, added Mary Kennedy, can help them overcome predispositions to resist change:

> *"I want to impress on you the nature of the professional development problem. With teachers you have a group of people disposed for a variety of reasons toward what I have called the conventional wisdom side of teaching—the kind of teaching that reform is striving to change. First, it's the kind of teaching that they grew up with—and many chose to become teachers because they like that kind of teaching. Second, they don't have opportunities to talk with other people or to observe other classrooms in order to find out about different ideas for teaching. So, you face automatic roadblocks when you try to get teachers to do something different. Neither their beliefs about teaching, nor their daily schedule, are conducive to new teaching approaches."*

Effective professional development should include a coaching element, ensuring that the development process is ongoing and not limited to occasional seminars, workshops, or courses. Along these lines Mary Kennedy stressed that professional development should be viewed as an opportunity for teachers to grow through formal and informal interactions with colleagues, as happens in most professions. A central problem with professional development, in her view, is that states and districts over-regulate in terms of credit-hour and remuneration

"The problems addressed by educational change agent policies or strategies for reform lie at the intersection of teacher, students, and subject matter. Content matters as much as process.... Policy intending to promote more effective educational practice must address both and acknowledge the need for the quite different kind of expertise associated with the management of organizational change and improved content." (McLaughlin, 1990)

requirements, and are too easily satisfied by training opportunities that do little to advance reform goals and objectives. A western legislator described the problem this way:

> *"Professional development is a hodge-podge. It's like 30 minutes after school this Wednesday, and then two hours on a different topic a month later. And then two months later you have an all-day session with somebody who comes in for one day, shares great wisdom, but then leaves and is never seen again. Not only do we need to restructure professional development, but we need to expect that when professionals get together, they are discussing issues related to kids and what's important in their schools."*

Creative Approaches to Professional Development

Given the centrality of professional development to achieving states' reform goals, it's not surprising that the discussion yielded an array of innovative approaches to continuing professional renewal. The "professional development school" (PDS) was cited as a particularly promising innovation for school reform and teacher education, in part because it depends on (and thereby encourages) close collaboration between public schools and schools of education. In a typical PDS, intern teachers complete teacher preparation under the supervision of experienced teachers and university faculty, who also collaborate on relevant educational research and development. At its best, a PDS is a mechanism for renewing schools and teacher preparation simultaneously.

"What's wrong with giving a teacher credit, academic credit, for real world work? What's wrong with elementary counselors standing alongside a social worker during the summer?" (Participating Legislator)

In pilot professional development schools in Michigan, Maine, Minnesota and a growing number of other states, teacher education faculty, doctoral students, and current and prospective classroom teachers work collectively on pressing professional, curricular or organizational

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The University of Southern Maine **and over 22 school districts throughout southern Maine have collaborated since 1985 for the dual purpose of renewing both schools and teacher education. The Southern Maine Partnership offers member districts an array of professional development activities through a network of Educators' Groups designed to promote reflective practice, effective instruction, and continuous school improvement. When the university decided to replace its undergraduate teacher education program with an extended program, Partnership schools collaborated in planning and implementing the new program according to principles set forth by John Goodlad's Center for Educational Renewal, to which the Partnership belongs. The UNUM Charitable Trust is a major funder for 1990-95.**

Partnership representatives worked with state, business, and community leaders in the Maine Coalition for Excellence in Education to design a blueprint for restructuring education that complements other initiatives underway at the local, state, and national levels. Among the goals for improving Maine's education system set forth by the Coalition are three that speak directly to developing teachers' capacity for adopting new practices and the professional skills and knowledge necessary to achieving new levels of success.

concerns. Professional development schools participating in the Southern Maine Partnership, for example, are discovering that shifting responsibility and authority for the development of interns to experienced classroom teachers results in greater teacher ownership of the process and positive growth experiences for them as well as the teacher interns.

Participants also suggested that states might give teachers a major role in developing student performance standards and assessment mechanisms. Vermont's history in this area is instructive. It used teachers extensively in the development of its new portfolio system. Now, after a mixed review of this pioneering assessment system by the RAND Corporation, Vermont is being advised to provide more training for the teachers who rate the portfolios (Rothman, 1992). Vermont has also had success with allowing teachers to design individual professional development plans and evaluating results using a portfolio system. The state has intentionally stayed clear of the program, which teachers have appreciated.

Similarly, small grant programs that give individuals and small teams of teachers power over the content and design of their professional development are especially constructive. These can be used to empower teachers to play significant roles in school restructuring and organizational change, develop new curricula or innovative pedagogies, or support practice-based "action" research. Moreover, awarding grants to teachers working on school-driven issues, such as designing an after-school homework program for at-risk students, raises the likelihood that school-wide improvement might result.

Finally, participants suggested that policymakers consider the creation of professional development programs that provide credit for non-teaching work experience obtained during the summer, leaves of absence, or even prior to entering the teaching profession, as are already underway at companies such as Polaroid and AT&T, among others. Within broad, state-established parameters, the programs would be driven by teachers' needs and interests. The goal of such an approach would be two-fold: 1) to raise teachers' awareness of how

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The Dade County Public Schools Bureau of Professionalism and the United Teachers of Dade developed the Dade Academy for the Teaching Arts in the late '80s to address the need to enhance teaching as a profession. Under the program—"a collegium for the profession"—high school teachers interact with other professionals, are exposed to the latest educational research, have the time to expand their professional knowledge and experiences, and collaboratively design instructional strategies and materials.

The Jefferson County Public Schools/Gheens Professional Development Academy in Louisville, Kentucky is both a teacher center and a leadership development center emphasizing team participation in school restructuring projects (Schlechty, 1990). Gheens sees itself as a "broker," finding the people who can help solve problems which the teachers themselves define. (Fiske, 1991)

Preferring teachers helping teachers to workshops run by outside "experts," the Pittsburgh School System took Schenley High School out of mothballs and reopened it as a demonstration school where a staff of master teachers helps colleagues improve their skills while operating a regular school. Pittsburgh gave all high school teachers six-month sabbaticals to "refresh and retool" themselves at Schenley. This successful program had been replicated at the middle and elementary levels, before budget cutbacks and high expense ratios forced the District to shut the model down. (Fiske, 1991)

The Massachusetts Field Center for Teaching and Learning at the University of Massachusetts/Boston, a statewide teachers' network established in 1985 to strengthen and improve schools and teaching in the Commonwealth, draws on teachers' expertise, insights, and commitment as instruments of change. The Field Center sponsors a Teacher Study Group grants program that enables teams of interested teachers to develop workable plans for investigating and resolving significant school-based issues, such as making heterogeneously-grouped classes more effective or exploring alternative forms of assessment in mathematics.

their discipline is being applied beyond primary or secondary schools, thereby fostering better school-to-work linkages, and 2) to alleviate the common problem of finding adequate time for professional development during the typical school day and year. One legislator asked:

> *"What's wrong with giving a teacher credit, academic credit, for real world work? What's wrong with elementary counselors standing alongside a social worker during the summer? What's wrong with an accounting teacher working in a bank, or a chemistry teacher working at the local drug company, or a history teacher working in a museum, or a math teacher being an actuary in an insurance company?"*

Principle #6 *School Restructuring*

[redacted] development policy will be most effective if de- [redacted] implemented in conjunction with fundamental [redacted] the organization and management of schools [redacted] time and school roles and responsibilities [redacted] are paramount.

Time

As alluded to above, limited discretionary time in the school day and year remains a problem for systemic teacher development. Reformers have tried unsuccessfully for years to squeeze free time out of the existing organization and schedule of schooling. Ironically, teachers have far fewer opportunities than legislators to learn about new educational approaches and initiatives, since nearly all of a teacher's time is spent in direct contact with students. In contrast, teachers in Japan spend approximately 60% of their time in direct instruction with students, utilizing the other 40% of their in-school day for planning, conferring with colleagues, engaging in professional development, and meeting with parents. This time factor may actually explain much of the difference between Japanese and American student achievement (Stigler and Stevenson, 1991).

> *"I want you [legislators] to know that teachers probably have 1 percent of the opportunity that you do to learn about ideas in education. They are in their classrooms all alone, every day. A school district with really strong professional development might have two days a year where teachers are released to exchange ideas with colleagues. We are working hard right now to find ways to reorganize the school day so that teachers can interact with each other, even visit each other's classroom and see how their neighbor is handling common problems."* (Mary Kennedy, Michigan State University)

Whereas interested parties in the state of Washington coalesced around adding 10 days of professional work to the school calendar, a midwestern legislator who attempted to add 20 days to the school year bill last year got "hammered" by a host of groups. Nevertheless, she remains convinced that until the basic school schedule is extended, we will only be able to tinker with changes in teacher training or roles and responsibilities.

As Michael Cohen put it directly, "The time has come to work out the following deal: educators need to be paid a professional wage, and they need to work a professional year for it."

The National Education Commission on Time and Learning began in April 1992 to examine the quality and adequacy of time U.S. students spend on study and learning. The Commission's final report (due April 1994) will also include analysis and recommendations concerning "year-round professional opportunities for teachers and how teachers can use their time to acquire knowledge and skills that will permit them to improve their performance and help raise the status of the profession."

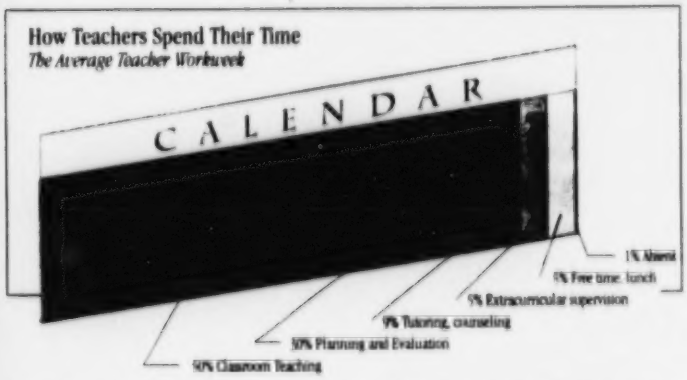
Teacher Roles and Responsibilities

A basic challenge for teacher development policy, as Sharon Robinson sees it, is to foster "inspiring" teaching roles. Such roles would ensure that students "witness teaching as a rich career option, a career in which practice on Day 1 of the tenth year is not the same as it was on Day 1 of the first year, and where practice means more than the direct delivery of instruction." To meet Robinson's challenge, teacher development policy must be joined with basic changes in school organization, management, and culture—the frame for teachers' roles and responsibilities.

At present, teachers find most of their professional rewards within classrooms because they have few meaningful opportunities outside of classrooms to take initiative and be rewarded. The locus of teachers' career aspirations and rewards might broaden if the organization and management of schools enabled teachers to have constructive roles and responsibilities beyond the classroom. In North Carolina, for example, the Public School Forum, a partnership of business, education, and political leaders, created a Lead Teacher Pilot Program. The legislature authorized $450,000 initially to provide higher salaries and reduced loads for lead teachers (1 for every 12 teachers) and $300 per teacher for staff development in pilot schools. North Carolina's differentiated staffing plan is unusual in that teachers at each school create the job description, selection process, and evaluation criteria for their lead teachers.

Many teachers desire a role in planning curriculum, facilitating instructional development, and other activities that can bolster their classroom effectiveness along with professionalism. However, it seems clear that pure governance responsibility—devoid of a clear tie to instructional practice—will engage only a very few.

"...educators need to be paid a professional wage, and they need to work a professional year for it. In Rochester, NY in fact, the business community is almost convinced that they've got the first part of that deal already. The average teacher salary in Rochester is about $46,000. By Rochester standards, that's professional pay. What the Rochester business community is trying to figure out is how to get the professional work year." (Michael Cohen, National Alliance for Educational Restructuring)



Time devoted to teachers' professional development is so insignificant that it does not appear in this breakdown of the average teacher workweek. Source: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education

Principle #7 *Higher Education Linkages*

Higher education institutions should be active in the design and implementation of comprehensive teacher development systems.

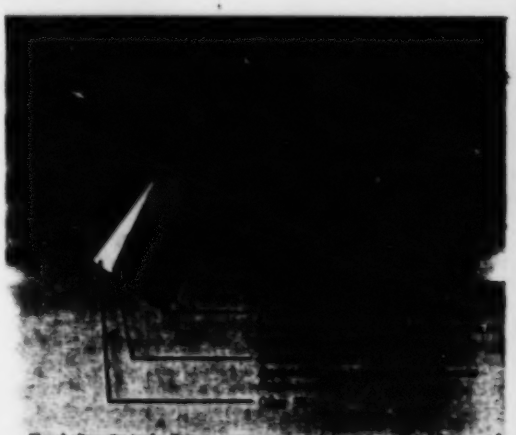
An Uneven Record

Our conversation indicated that many legislators and state education leaders do not believe higher education is playing a constructive role regarding teacher development. Three prevalent concerns are that colleges and universities: a) are doing a poor job of preparing teachers; b) are weak on follow-up mentoring and support; and c) fail to connect their teaching and research with school and state-level concerns (or at least fail to communicate their research in accessible forms).

> ***"I don't think we need more incentive programs for higher education. We're giving them hundreds of millions of dollars in many states. We ought to say, 'Here's what we want.' Again, we've not been good at articulating what standards we will use to hold them accountable for the hundreds of millions of dollars we have already invested."*** **(Participating Legislator)**

Despite its perceived failings, public and private higher education is viewed as a key resource for much of the work entailed in creating and running effective teacher development systems encompassing teacher induction through continuing professional development. Several legislators at the symposium felt strongly, however, that instead of offering new incentives to spark desired higher education activity, their colleagues should first hold colleges and universities accountable for what they have not been doing relative to teacher development within existing policy parameters and funding levels.

Our presenters made several suggestions on how higher education could begin to alter its role in a cost-effective manner. Mary Kennedy—stressing that colleges operate as equal partners with schools, not distant repositories of expertise—recommended that small teams of faculty establish ongoing relations with groups of primary and secondary teachers in particular schools. Michigan State University has had success sending faculty out to confer with small groups of teachers on a weekly basis about pressing curricular or pedagogical problems. Early benefits are visible: teachers are enriched, school problems are more readily addressed, and faculty research and writing is more relevant. Kennedy suggested that states consider this type of school-based, ongoing professional development in place of the continuing education courses that tend to dominate existing professional development offerings.



Through alternative routes, Missouri programs are preparing [illegible] for just a tiny fraction of newly licensed teachers. Traditional undergraduate teacher preparation programs prepare nearly four of every five new teachers. [illegible] Profile of Teachers in the U.S. – 1990, National Center for Education Information.

In a similar attempt to forge better connections between K-12 and higher education, Susan Zelman reported, Massachusetts is using a National Science Foundation/Statewide Systemic Initiatives (SSI) grant to establish an annual math and science summer institute for leaders in teacher education and professional development. Under the grant, liberal arts and science professors, mathematicians and scientists, teacher educators, teachers and museum

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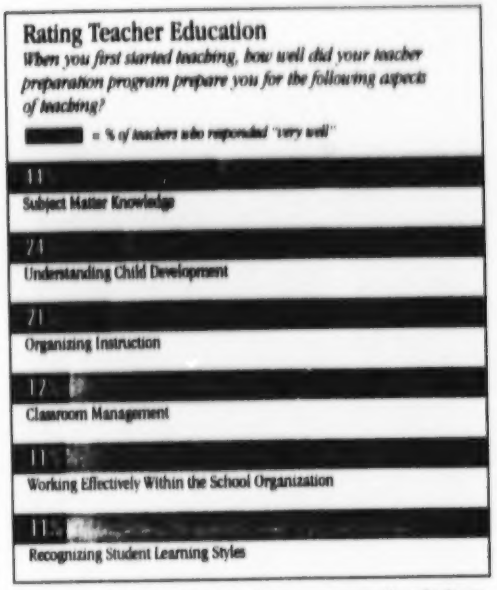
staff come together to discuss state curriculum frameworks and teacher development systems for math and science. Helping academics, practitioners and policymakers collectively reflect on their knowledge and beliefs about teaching and learning is an SSI priority.

Sharon Robinson urged state leaders to strengthen the ties between two- and four-year institutions that would enable more college students, particularly first-generation students, to pursue teaching careers. Robinson believes that more effective access corridors from high school to two-year to four-year institutions will bolster the diversity and quality of our nation's teaching force only if higher education concurrently makes changes in teacher preparation.


Rating Teacher Education
When you first started teaching, how well did your teacher preparation program prepare you for the following aspects of teaching?
= % of teachers who responded "very well"
Subject Matter Knowledge
Understanding Child Development
Organizing Instruction
Classroom Management
Working Effectively Within the School Organization
Recognizing Student Learning Styles

Current teachers generally believe that their teacher education programs prepared them well in the more abstract areas of subject matter knowledge and child development, but much less well in more practical areas such as classroom management and working effectively within the school organization. Source: Profile of Teachers in the U.S. — 1990, National Center for Education Information.

The Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute was established with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1978 as a joint program of the University and the New Haven Public Schools, designed to strengthen teaching in the humanities and the sciences. The Institute's program annually involves 80 teacher fellows in almost five months of talks, workshops, and seminars on topics the teachers themselves identify, and culminates with the preparation of new curricular materials for use in the coming school year. Between 1978 and 1991 this comprehensive, intensive, and sustained collaboration of Yale faculty with public school teachers generated 708 individual curriculum units. The Institute experience increases teachers' preparation in their disciplines, renews them intellectually, raises their morale, heightens their expectations of students, encourages them to remain in teaching in New Haven, and, in turn, enhances student performance. A $2 million challenge grant by the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund in 1990 allowed the collaborative program to be permanently established.

Principle #8 *Educating Policymakers and the Public*

Outreach to and communication with both the citizenry and all state policymakers should be a permanent part of any effort to develop and implement teacher development systems. Substantial public and political will must be generated and maintained to support the reforms entailed in comprehensive teacher development policy.

Educating State Policymakers

One goal of systemic teacher development policy should be to provide state policymakers with a deeper understanding of educational reform. The obverse is equally true: a goal of reform should be to help legislators understand the importance of systemic thinking, or "generative learning" that "requires seeing the systems that control events. When we fail to grasp the systemic source of problems, we are left to 'push on' symptoms rather than eliminate underlying causes" (Senge, 1990).

Teacher development is not part of the reform discussion in many states where legislators apparently fail to appreciate how much teacher capacity undergirds educational reform. This lacuna in the reform discussion makes those who do see its importance wary about systemic approaches, fearing that attempts to link teacher education or recruitment to educational restructuring may stall all reform legislation. Not understanding the fundamental connection, legislators might kill restructuring legislation containing a mix of teacher development policies, viewing it as needlessly complex or costly.

"Under-investment in teacher knowledge and school capacity has killed many a reform movement in the past, especially those that have aimed at more child-centered approaches and more universal high-quality education. Current efforts at school reform are also likely to fail unless they are built on a foundation of teaching knowledge and are sustained by a commitment to structural rather than merely symbolic change." (Darling-Hammond, 1992)

If systemic teacher development is to move forward, more state leaders must be convinced of its centrality to reform. The heart of the matter is providing legislators with continuing opportunities to learn about and reflect on transformations in the teaching-learning process and role of teachers. Unfortunately, few legislators understand this evolution; too many base their policy stances on their own schooling experiences, rather than on what researchers and practitioners are recommending as cutting edge practice.

How can legislators be most effectively educated about reform? State lawmakers, like most professionals, say they learn best when an issue is brought to life. That's why, for example, Michigan's Partnership for New Education includes legislators in team-building exercises. It's also why legislators attend conferences like this one—because they let them interact with educators in a non-adversarial setting.

Teacher development policy stands the best chance of success in states with formal mechanisms for regularly connecting a critical mass of legislators with teachers, parents, administrators and researchers who are busy reforming schools. As at our meeting, the focus should be on identifying how the various facets of teacher development policy can advance a state's broader educational reform agenda.

Communicating with the Public

Many legislators feel that the reform dialogue is too far ahead of their constituents. Reformers' calls for organizational change, new roles and responsibilities for teachers, and new teaching approaches do not jibe with the public's notion of what schooling should entail. However, instead of convincing their constituents that teaching is not just talking, that learning is more than memorizing isolated facts, that students need to be actively engaged in complex problem solving, too many elected officials (in the words of one participant) "cave in."

> *"We're not in sync with the public on this, so it's hard for us to move forward initiatives that the public has no knowledge that we need...I think we're held back right now because there is a lot of 'I learned it this way, why can't kids today learn it the same way?' Quite honestly, politicians aren't trying to educate the public to let them know that kids have changed, and education needs to change as well. We are too busy, often times, pandering to our constituency."* (Participating Legislator)

As much as educating legislators is a condition for sustaining reform, so too is educating taxpayers, a great proportion of whom harbor mistrust of the teaching profession. Like legislators, the public needs help understanding that teachers are central to reform, and that the nature of what teaching should be has changed markedly over the past decade. Unfortunately, state and district reform leaders have only recently realized how important the provision of clear and regular information is for maintaining the public will for reform.

"When reform jelled for me—when I really got excited—I was at a conference like this. Teachers that were in the process of doing some reform in the schools came in and had round table discussions, and I was sitting there with them. That's not when I saw the need for it, but that's when some of the ideas really began to fall into place for me." (Participating Legislator)

Michael Cohen cited Rochester, New York as an example of how the lack of a public outreach strategy can undermine reform. Three years into Rochester's landmark restructuring effort—which gave teachers more school-level control and major pay raises in exchange for stricter performance standards—negative public opinion over slow educational improvement exacerbated a problematic contract negotiation, nearly killing the city's path-breaking attempt to upgrade the teaching profession. Neither the union president, superintendent, nor school board president had put together a strategy to help Rochester residents understand the reform and develop realistic expectations for the pace of change.

The solutions to the challenge of improving public communication need not be complex. In Idaho, as part of the state's "Schools 2000" initiative, a public relations agency has been hired to communicate the importance, intent and specifics of the reform to the public, teacher organizations and other legislators. And a broad scale public mobilization campaign was as critical to South Carolina's passage of its Education Improvement Act under then-Governor Richard Riley, as it was to Bill Clinton's education reform strategies when he was Governor of Arkansas.

Presenter Ron Cowell stated the issue clearly:

> *"The chairman of the education committee in the house has an agenda. The chairman in the senate has an agenda. The secretary of education has an agenda. Each and every one of our statewide associations, whether they*

represent teachers, school boards, superintendents or principals, has an agenda. We typically don't do a very good job of coming together and developing some common agenda that we can make happen. And then we sit and wonder why nothing happens. We're not very good at effecting change. We're good at being for it. But we fail when the test is, 'make it happen'. Public mobilization, then, is critical to achieving consensus about the ends and means of education. Although building such consensus should be the stock-in-trade of our political leaders, legislators have a mixed record as catalysts of consensus for educational change."

Principle #9 *Change Incentives*

The business of true reform has no 'conclusion'. Policymakers will need to think deeply and creatively about how reforms spawned by new teacher development policies can be broadened and sustained.

Linking Extrinsic and Intrinsic Rewards

The history of school reform teaches us that change rarely is maintained, let alone expanded. How can states ensure that successfully restructured schools spark wide-scale change?

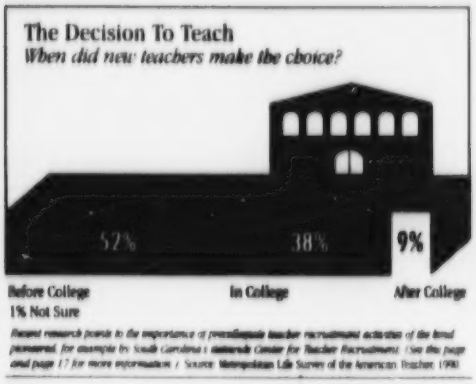
Isolated model schools and pilot programs do not necessarily lead to systemwide reforms. While vital to the change process, they must be coupled with mechanisms that enable and encourage other districts, schools and educators to learn about, adapt, and implement the proven reforms, followed by continuous coaching back in the home school.

Policymakers frequently do not recognize the importance to the change process of incentives, particularly intrinsic rewards. Typically, they focus more on extrinsics—such as pay and sanctions—to promote change. However, researchers have known for years that teachers are more apt to be motivated by intrinsic factors—such as the personal satisfaction of helping a difficult student to learn, or having a class excited by a particular lesson (Lortie, 1975).

Michael Cohen suggested at the symposium that policies attempting to change teacher practice will be most effective if they link extrinsic and intrinsic factors. For example, new teacher performance measures (extrinsic) should be regarded by most teachers as valid indicators of what they do in their classrooms—the primary locus for teachers' intrinsic rewards in schools as they are currently organized. If the new measures are not considered valid by teachers, they are unlikely to have an effect inside classrooms, the fate of so many reforms in the past.

At the organization level, extrinsic incentives are essential, and states have frequently been limited in the creativity they use in mobilizing organizations and systems to change. Earlier, this report discussed the reluctance of some legislators to use rewards to encourage the higher education community to improve its role in teacher development (see page 25). Their preferred incentive appears to be a negative one—penalizing colleges and universities if they do not make better use of existing finances, staff and faculty in developing teachers. Nevertheless, Susan Zelman calls for positive, state-level incentives that would encourage teacher colleges to rethink their programs and begin to collaborate with districts and schools:

> *"One of the reservations for me in trying to stimulate reform is that I have no help from the state legislature in the form of incentive programs to use for teacher education. Through large grants from Carnegie and the National Science Foundation, I have been able to give some incentive*



Recent research points to the importance of prestigious teacher recruitment activities of the kind pioneered, for example by South Carolina's Governor's Center for Teacher Recruitment. (See this page and page 17 for more information.) Source: Metropolitan Life Survey of the American Teacher, 1990

grants to public and private teacher education programs to get them to rethink what they're doing and form systemic collaborations with local school districts. It's a shame that at the state level we don't have these incentive programs to help bring about this very needed change."

An entirely different approach to building incentives for change into teacher development policy comes from South Carolina, where the Center for Teacher Recruitment reports that 7000 former high school teacher cadets are now moving through teacher colleges and demanding changes in the irrelevant aspects of these programs. Quite unexpectedly, South Carolina is finding that an investment in one arena of teacher development policy—recruitment—is producing changes in another arena, teacher education. Most important, it appears that the cadets' demands will move South Carolina closer to its goal of reshaping its schools for the 21st century.

> *"We now have 7,000 former teacher cadets who are going through the colleges in South Carolina, and they are demanding that the teacher education programs be changed. This is because they have been observing teachers in classrooms, beginning in middle school, and then in the high school cadet programs. When they get to the college level, they expect the programs to prepare them for the schools of the future. This has been a real interesting phenomenon, and it should have an impact down the road."*
> (Janice Poda, South Carolina Center for Teacher Recruitment)

Maintaining Policy Momentum

The most powerful suggestion for arriving at incentives that help to sustain reform aptly returns us to aspects of the first three guiding principles (Strategic Planning, Clarified Governmental Roles, Participatory Design). Policymakers frequently neglect careful consideration of the implementation phase of their policies, not to mention evaluation. The common result is that the new policy falters during enactment, for reasons that could have been avoided by attending to the incentives that would encourage local actors to adopt new practices. Another critical issue in sustaining reform has already been touched upon: short legislative attention spans. All too often, when legislators and other lawmakers shift their focus to other matters, good ideas and programs lose their support and disappear. Institutionalization of programs is needed because, in the view of some, legislators have not been effective change agents. "Because of our weakness as change agents," noted one legislator at the symposium, "teachers have adopted the view 'this too will pass.' They hunker down and wait for our policy initiatives to go away."

As a way to alleviate this trap, policy researcher Richard Elmore (1980) recommends "backwards mapping," a planning approach in which policymakers first think hard about how a new policy might play out in practice, and then work back from that point as they design the policy. Echoing other principles in this report, "backwards mapping" is most effective when it draws on the people who will be directly affected by what is being proposed.

Principle #10 *Money Matters*

Money matters to teacher development. Challenging funding questions will have to be resolved as comprehensive teacher development systems are designed.

An Unavoidable Hurdle

Finances are an underlying factor in many of the challenges that the preceding nine guiding principles target. Participants raised a number of reasons why state leaders will be unable to avoid difficult funding issues as they design teacher development policy.

The first represents the largest financial challenge for teacher development: increasing teacher salaries. With surprising frequency, the need for higher teacher salaries came up in our conversation. Several legislators deem it to be the most critical part of teacher recruitment.

Second, the need to clarify government roles in the design and implementation of teacher development policy is largely a funding issue. At least as it played out in our conversation, the debate over how to disperse governmental responsibility regarding education becomes most testy over two questions: How much federal or state funding will be provided for local initiatives? And, how much control will the local level be given over funding from the federal or state level?

Similarly, the call for consensus building is significantly affected by resource availability. Limited financial resources are currently a major obstacle to establishing consensus about reform, especially at the state and local levels. All agree that consensus is easier to secure and translate into action when financial resources are plentiful.

Fourth, doubts about investing in recruitment campaigns in teacher surplus states (noted earlier in the discussion of research-based strategic planning), are driven in large part by budget concerns. In Montana and Pennsylvania, for example, there is widespread feeling that, in a time of tight budgets, too much state money is being spent to educate teachers who end up in other states.

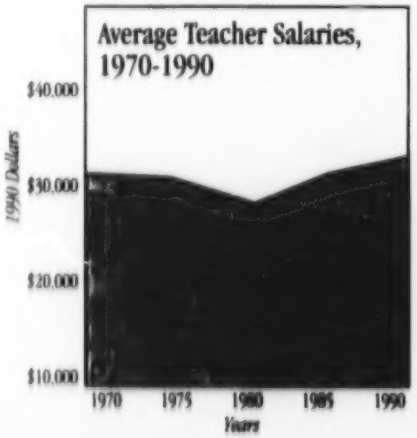
> *"I sit on a legislature where we're real concerned about reducing the cost of education because it consumes such a large part of our budget that is in deficit. And so, people are repeatedly saying, 'Why is the state picking up 3/4 of the tab to educate teachers that are going to Florida or other states? If Florida wants teachers, they can educate them.' Quite frankly, Montana taxpayers don't want to pay to educate somebody else's kids."*
> (Participating Legislator)

The fifth example of teacher development's unavoidable funding challenge is drawn from our discussion of the implications of changing demographics. Sharon Robinson highlighted the need for a fairer balance between loans and grants in the financial assistance packages potential teachers receive for higher education, reminding legislators that overweighting the proportion of loans could diminish teacher recruitment, especially among low-income minorities and immigrants who as teachers will likely be unable to repay loans quickly.

And beyond the issue of incentives and opportunity costs lies the more fundamental question of what Linda Darling-Hammond, co-director of the National Center for Restructuring Education, Schools and Teaching, calls the "inequitable distribution" of education's human resources. Our educational rhetoric champions the proposition that "all children can learn." Yet our educational practice frequently traps low-income and minority students in dead end tracks, taught by our least able or prepared teachers. Indeed, a recent RAND study showed that low-income students were far more likely to be taught science or mathematics by an unqualified teacher (teaching out of field) than their more advantaged suburban counterparts (Oakes, 1990). The issue of real education reform presupposes both greater equity and a more profound investment in developing education's human resources, including, as we have heard, better funding of professional development linked to school improvement efforts.

The need and mechanisms for funding education, of course, are hotly debated across the entire landscape of reform. But at various moments during the symposium, legislators confronted the funding challenge directly and concluded, in effect, that the only real solution lies in their ability to make the tough decisions. Summed up Pennsylvania legislator Ron Cowell:

> *"We at the state level, and our folks at the school district level, typically chop [professional development] first in tight budget times. I don't think we ought to sit back and wait for another special pot of money. It would be helpful, but the absence of that special pot of money becomes the excuse. I like what they did in Florida. They did what basically the business community does. If you're going to thrive and be successful and continue to improve and be responsive to a changing environment and changing clients, you earmark a portion of your budget just as a matter of doing business, for continuing professional development or staff training or whatever you call it. You don't sit around and wait for someone to come along with a foundation grant or some little special pot of money that's only temporary. We need to institutionalize these changes, institutionalize the way of thinking so that it becomes a permanent way of doing business."*



While teacher salaries have risen over the past decade, in constant dollars those increases have brought average salaries for all elementary and secondary school teachers to a point that is just 8% higher than 1970 levels. Source: *Estimates of School Statistics*, National Education Association, 1991. In constant 1990 dollars.

III. Summary and Conclusions

Forging a Process Towards Reform

This report provides state leaders and policymakers with a preliminary overview of the major challenges and opportunities entailed in the creation and implementation of systemic teacher development policy. As outlined in this document, the general content of such policy is clear. It should encompass seven major aspects of teacher preparation and practice: recruitment, education, standards, roles and responsibilities, professional development, pay and benefits, and removal and retirement.

Nonetheless, individual states must determine their specific teacher development policy to ensure that it is locally relevant. While states should also determine their own policymaking process, this document suggests ten guiding principles. Although preliminary in nature, they are drawn from the experience of a seasoned group of state legislators and policy analysts. As states commence, or continue, their own conversations about teacher development and educational reform, these principles can serve as useful guideposts. Ideally, they will help states forge a policymaking process and set of policies that reflect the three central conclusions of this report:

1. State policymakers need to understand what systemic teacher development policy is, and why it is critical to educational reform. Teacher development should be considered a means toward meaningful school renewal—not simply a means toward building the knowledge and skills of individual educators.

Systemic teacher development policy is validated by the widening recognition that the central issue facing the United States as it approaches the 21st century is the development of its human capacity. Specifically defined, it encompasses and interrelates at least seven aspects of becoming and being a teacher, with the goal of maximizing the knowledge, skills and abilities of a state's present and future teacher workforce. Coherence is a defining characteristic; that is, teacher development policy is most effective when each of the seven policy arenas add up to form an integrated framework and when they are related to a broader set of reform goals and objectives. Unfortunately, more often than not, state policy regarding teachers is ad hoc and disjointed, assuring that the widely-desired goal of teacher excellence remains illusory and opportunities for greater educational efficiency and productivity are wasted.

The significance of systemic teacher development to educational reform cannot be overstated. Reform is a complex process because it almost always involves altering human behavior and attitudes. Reformers may use dehumanized terms to talk about change—restructuring, systemic change, etc.—but the bottom line is that education will change only as fast as deeply entrenched human behavior patterns can change. Organizational structures and processes are critical to reform, but they are far from the sole issue. Teachers are the key to educational change because they are at the center of school process and culture. Nevertheless, teachers will need extensive development in their teaching, subject matter, management and interpersonal capacities before they can function on a wide-scale basis as change agents.

2. State policymakers need to view systemic teacher policy as a way to clarify and connect potentially competing elements of the national reform agenda and to facilitate their implementation at the local level.

This day-long conversation between state legislators and policy experts echoed the main tenets of the current reform discourse, an agenda that includes: greater attention to systemic change; a shift from an input to an outcomes orientation; a conception of educational systems as reaching from pre-school through adult employment and incorporating health and social concerns; the belief that "all students can learn" and should be engaged in demanding intellectual work; a view of classrooms and schools as "learning communities" where students work cooperatively; and substantial changes in the education and credentialing of teachers in support of each of these reforms.

While agreeing with many of the elements of this emergent agenda, state legislators at the symposium flagged extensive barriers to reform at the state and district levels. It became clear that there is a chasm between the comprehensive and systemic rhetoric of national reform leaders and the frequently fragmented reality of reform at the state, district and local levels. The sources of difficulty at the state and local levels are myriad, e.g., strategic planning has been weak; research and data are lacking; the roles of various governmental levels are unclear; consensus has not been built about goals; teachers have not been central to the design and implementation of reform; public communication regarding specific reform initiatives has been nearly non-existent; and commitment to equitable and more profound investment in education's human resources has been largely absent.

If the substance of our conversation echoes the situation facing many state leaders, which we believe it does, the value of systemic teacher development policy is underscored. The ten guiding principles for making and implementing such policy have been shaped in response to the major barriers to educational change delineated above. While focused on the aspects of teacher development highlighted in this report, the principles are equally applicable to other related school reform issues. If taken in their entirety, they can lend needed coherence to both the substance and the process of policymaking.

3. State policymakers need to support teacher development policy that enables improvement rather than dictates new behavior.

It is fitting that the final word in this report calls for conceiving of policy as "enabling" rather than just "mandating." This idea speaks to the fact that educational change is fundamentally a local process. McLaughlin (1990) argues that "Change continues to be a problem of the smallest unit" and that policy implementation is most dependent on local capacity and will. Johnson (1990) states, "Policies should be designed to create opportunities for change." Taken together, their message is that policies should enable local leaders to decide

how reform approaches are designed and implemented, within broad resource and program parameters established by states and districts.

This emphasis on 'enabling' weaves through all of the guiding principles highlighted in this report and should be a priority as states develop policy in each of the teacher development arenas. State policymakers should continually ask themselves: "How do we know that our ideas regarding teacher recruitment, teacher education, standards or professional development address the current and future challenges in our state's schools and classrooms? Who is truly in the best position to be able to tell us?" If state leaders design policy with attention to each of the guiding principles—and the transcendent necessity for the policymaking process to include, not exclude, and for those policies to enable, rather than solely mandate—then state policy should address the real needs of local schools.

Appendices to the Report

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